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Made in America 10.

A COMPLAINT TO THE —
OF — AGAINST A PAMPHLET
INTITLED, ASPEECH INTEND-
ED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN
ON THE BILL FOR ALTER-
ING THE CHARTERS OF THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSET'S
BAY.

— immò vero etiam in senatum venit —

L O N D O N,
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A COMRADE IN THE
OF — AGAINST THE
ENTILES ARE RECOMMENDING
DO TO HAVE BEEN STOPPED
OF THE BILL FOR AFTER
NO THE CHARTER OF THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS
MAY



A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

It is needless, perhaps, to acquaint the reader, that the Complaint contained in the following pages, was never made, nor intended to be made, in the place alluded to. It may be of more consequence to inform him, that the author had no other motive for drawing it up, than because he thought the *SPEECH* highly deserved it; and the rather, as its influence had been extended by an unusual circulation, and its authority seemed to have acquired considerable weight by the addition of a name, which public report had, perhaps, not less unaccountably, than arbitrarily affixed to it.

If the writer of the *SPEECH* is sincere in his professions of candour and moderation, he is certainly but little acquainted with his own performance. If he had really “a warm desire and

“some faint hope (as he expresses
 “himself) of serving his country,”
 he hath been very unfortunate in
 choosing an opportunity, and a sub-
 ject the most incompatible with his
 intention. He informs the public,
 that “he might justify his manner
 “of publishing it by very great au-
 “thorities. Some of the noblest
 “pieces of eloquence, the world is
 “in possession of, were not spoken
 “on the great occasions they were
 “intended to serve, and seem to have
 “been preserved merely from the
 “high sense that was entertained of
 “their merit.” It were a pity to in-
 terrupt the satisfaction this writer
 seems to have in contemplating him-
 self, as an accomplished orator: and
 yet, unless the rivalry of other de-
 claimers upon paper were a matter of
 such immediate moment;—unless
 the call were so very pressing, that it
 must be obeyed even at the risque of
 the

the peace of society, one would think he might have paused a moment to reflect, whether it were worth the sacrifice of his character, as a good citizen.

As it is, the kindest and most salutary wish he can form, both for his country and himself, is, that his rhetoric may make no impression on the minds of his readers. In this view, and in this view only, can be palliated that, otherwise more than cynical, reflection upon his supposed audience, that he is ** wasting his arguments, with a melancholy assurance, that not a word of them will be regarded.*

* See the Speech, p. 31.

A COM-

A C O M P L A I N T, &c.

My ———,

I flattered myself, that the vigorous, but necessary, measures taken at the close of the last parliament, with a view of restoring peace and good order in the province of the Massachusets's Bay, would before this time have brought back to a sense of their duty those deluded men, who have disturbed the general tranquillity, and insulted the common government; I hoped, that we might now have met to seal their pardon, to receive them again into our confidence and protection, and to congratulate with them

B

and

and ourselves on a perfect re-union of affections, and interests.

The wisdom and firmness of the plan adopted here, and the character of those, to whose conduct it hath been intrusted, leave me little reason to believe, that I should have been thus disappointed in the event, had it not been for the practices of some persons at home, who have set themselves to inflame the discontents of the colonists, and, as far as they can, to render the breach between us irreparable. The favourite theme of these enemies to the public good is, that the measures we are pursuing are not the measures of the nation, but of a party, which is disposed to exercise every act of oppression against the colonies, but wants resolution to enforce its designs. Groundless and absurd as these insinuations are, they have nevertheless their effect upon the minds of the people, and have been applied to very pernicious purposes by ill-designing men.

The

The pamphlet I have in my hand is of a still more dangerous nature. It purports to be "A speech intended to have been spoken on the bill for altering the charters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay." It appears to be addressed to this ———; and by the sanctity of the language in several parts one might almost be tempted to believe, the writer affected to pass for one of the r—d b—h, if it were possible any way to reconcile the nature and tendency of the publication with so sacred a character.

By giving to this pamphlet the form and title of a 'speech,' the time of its publication is artfully sunk in the time, when, we are to understand, it should have been spoken; so that, while we read, what might have been alledged against passing the bill, we do not recollect, that these allegations never were made, till after the bill had actually passed into a law. Now, my ———, there is

at all times a wide difference between censuring a bill, that is depending in parliament, and attacking the laws of the kingdom. But, to make a formal and avowed attack upon a law just passed, and just beginning to operate, in a delicate and dangerous crisis, appears to me an act of the most fatal and criminal tendency; because it can have no other effect than that of alienating the minds of the people from government, at a time too, when it behoves them most to support it. Upon this principle alone I might found my complaint to your —— against the pamphlet in question; but the liberty of the press is so invaluable a privilege, that in an accusation even of this kind I should scarcely think it sufficient to shew, that a publication is pernicious, unless I could likewise shew, that it is untrue. I shall therefore intreat your —— attention, while I enter more particularly into the merits of this ‘speech’ as it is called; for the author of it hath not only to answer for having
spoken

spoken at a time, when he ought not, but for having spoken that, which he could not at any time have justified.

Under colour of not entering upon disputable points, he states and argues from them, as if they had been acknowledged in his favour. While he professes to confine himself strictly to a detail of facts, and waves all discussion of rights, he expresses himself in terms that amount to a denial of the supremacy of this country over her colonies:—he gives a false idea of their constitution, in order to invalidate our right of taxing them:—he introduces occurrences of great moment, totally unconnected with his subject, and misrepresents them so as to render our claim of that right highly odious:—he studiously conceals the true and assigns a false cause for the late act of parliament relating to Boston;—and by such means endeavours to set the conduct of this country in the most unjust and criminal light,

These are the charges I have to bring against him: the proofs I am now to submit to your —— judgement.

I shall begin with his plan, which he announces thus: “^a It is worth while
“ (says he, speaking of the colonies) to
“ enquire by what steps we first gained
“ their affection and preserved it so long;
“ and by what conduct we have lately
“ lost it. Such an enquiry may point out
“ the means of restoring peace, and make
“ the use of force unnecessary against a
“ people, whom I cannot yet forbear to
“ consider as our brethren.” We are here promised a plain, simple detail of facts merely, with the inferences naturally arising from them; to which is added in another place an assurance of the writer’s “^b desire to have it understood, that he is opposing no rights, that our legislature may think proper to claim.” Nothing can be more candid, my ——,

^a P. 7.

^b P. 15.

than the terms of this plan. The only objection, I have to it is, that they are not adhered to. They are forgotten—Forgotten! did I say? They are cancelled in the very utterance: for what other interpretation can we put upon these words “by what steps we first **GAINED** “their affection.” What steps, my —, could be necessary to gain their affection? were they not a part of our own community? did they not leave this country in search of their own advantage? and did they not obtain that advantage by the assistance and protection they derived from hence? The affections of strangers indeed are to be **GAINED**: those of our own people belong to us. Besides, the privilege of improving their fortunes by acquisitions in the new world was an additional obligation, which our original colonists owed to the state; and though the change of persons and circumstances, joined to the inconstancy of human nature, might make a renewal of benefits necessary to preserve their affections through

an interval of two centuries, ingratitude itself could not have disputed with us the possession of them in the beginning.

The insinuation, conveyed in the words I have remarked to your —, is repeated in the same passage, where the writer styles the Colonists “our brethren;” (a loose and indefinite denomination equally applicable to every part of mankind) instead of distinguishing them by their true and only title of our *children*. Such modes of expression, my —, have a peculiar propriety in the introduction of a system, where the writer’s design is to lay as far as he can out of sight the *original* and *indefeasible* relation between the mother country and the colonies, and to put the latter as much as possible upon the footing of *separate* states.

I do not mean by this, my —, to assert, that the writer of this ‘speech’ has in any part affirmed the independence of the colonies in so many words; but

I shall

I shall leave your — to judge, what he would be understood to suggest, when he tells us ;— that the governors appointed from hence to preside over them, ought to be considered only as “^c RECOMMENDED to them by us ;” when he treats the colonies with the qualification of “^d YOUNG RISING STATES ;” when he dignifies the province of the Massachusetts Bay with the title of “^e POWERFUL STATE ;” and when he inveighs against the alteration of its government, as “^f the highest and most arbitrary act of sovereignty, that one NATION can exercise over ANOTHER.”

These, my —, are bold expressions in more respects than one, and seem to strike at the foundation of some of our most essential rights ; yet the author “*desires to have it understood, that he is*” “*opposing no rights that our Legislature*” “*may think proper to claim.*”

^c P. 17^d P. 27.^e P. 26.^f P. 25.

Again :

Again: “ § It was wise and generous
 “ (he tells us) to give them [the colonies]
 “ the form and the spirit of our own con-
 “ stitution.” It must be confessed, my
 —, we are much obliged to this writer
 for celebrating our wisdom, and generosity
 in an instance, that never existed. It
 is not true, that we gave them *the form*
and spirit of our own constitution. We
 gave them, my —, such constitutions
 as we judged best adapted to infant set-
 tlements. They differed considerably in
 the different provinces; and that, in par-
 ticular, which is the immediate object of
 our consideration, was, before the late
 act of parliament, so far from resembling
 our own, that two thirds of the legisla-
 tive, and a very considerable part of the
 executive power depended upon the
 people.

But the falsity of this panegyric is not
 all I have to object to it. To shew your
 — at one view, with what an insidious

spirit it is bestowed, and what a glorious superstructure of rights and privileges, correspondent to those the mother-country is in possession of, was intended to be raised upon this foundation, I need only state a passage from the next page. “^h We made requisitions to them (says this writer) on great occasions, *in the same manner as our princes formerly asked benevolences of their subjects*; and as nothing was asked but what was visibly for the public good, it was always granted, and they sometimes did more than we expected. The matter of RIGHT was neither disputed nor even considered.” Here, my —, not only the *right* of taxation, but even the *right* of requisition is plainly called in question; yet the writer “*desires to have it understood, that he is opposing no rights that our legislature may think proper to claim.*”

How little reason soever your — may hitherto have had to be satisfied with the veracity of this writer, you will find, that

the instances I have yet given are nothing more than the sportings of his pen in comparison of what is to follow. It is upon this grand point of taxation that he begins to exert himself, and shews, that he is determined to want no support, whatever it may cost him to obtain it. With what earnestness and appearance of sincerity does he introduce the late calamities of our Asiatic settlements, to serve the purposes of an argument, to which they bear no relation. “ⁱ I need not (says he) carry your
 “ ——— out of your own knowledge, or out
 “ of your own dominions, to make you
 “ conceive what misery this right of taxation is capable of producing in a provincial government. We need only recollect, that our countrymen in India
 “ have in the space of five or six years, in
 “ virtue of this right, destroyed, starved,
 “ and driven away more inhabitants from
 “ Bengal than are to be found at present
 “ in all our American colonies.”

That Bengal is very much depopulated, my —, is a melancholy truth; but are the English to be arraigned for evils accruing from the inscrutable dispensations of Providence? are the natural consequences of drought to be imputed to them? had they the power of commanding the clouds of heaven to pour down those fertile showers, without which the burning sun from the month of May to September (for so long the drought lasted) must destroy every grain of rice? And yet the depopulation of Bengal by a famine, which proceeded from drought only, is here peremptorily brought as a proof, that *our countrymen in India have in virtue of the right of taxation destroyed, starved, and driven away more inhabitants from thence than are to be found at present in all our American Colonies.* — “^k This,” proceeds the writer, “is no exaggeration, but plain matter of fact collected from the ac-

“ counts sent over by Mr. Hastings.” My —, I assert, there is no such matter of fact in any of Mr. Hastings’s accounts. Mr. Hastings has indeed animadverted with honest warmth upon the oppressed situation of the inferior natives of Bengal : but he no where alledges or even insinuates that the oppressions, which he condemns, have proceeded from the government of the English, but on the contrary from the antient and established constitutions of those countries. It is with the highest pleasure that I add, in contradiction to this writer, that as soon as the English began to attain an insight into the internal operations of the Mogul and Hindoo governments, they introduced many salutary regulations, and relieved the natives (as far as so early a period of their sovereignty could justify an innovation upon long established customs) from a variety of oppressions, many of which they laboured under in common with all nations subject to despotic power.

My

My —, I have not spoken thus warmly on this part of the pamphlet in question, from a desire of vindicating the exceptionable conduct of any individual, or from the smallest partiality to a set of men, with whom I have no connection. But I have spoken thus warmly, because I am a lover of truth : and, when I look back upon the vast increase of empire, revenue, and commerce acquired for this country by the servants of the India Company in Bengal ; and when I consider, from the most authentic testimony of living and written evidence, that these great acquisitions are un sullied with cruelty or oppression, I cannot but admire the delicate sensibility of the man, who declares, that their conduct hath “¹ very much lessened the pleasure “ he used to feel in thinking himself an “ Englishman.” Surely, my —, such unblemished manners, such unspotted integrity, cannot be too nice in the choice of its connections !

The spirit, that can so easily convert the *baneful influence of an inclement season* into the *effects of an arbitrary right of taxation*, must needs be an active and efficacious one: accordingly we find it equally prevalent in the representation of facts immediately under our own observation, as of those which have passed at the distance of half the globe.

Having finished his account of the conduct of our ancestors, the writer of the 'speech' proceeds thus to exhibit the contrast to it.

“^m The good genius of our country had
 “ led us to the simple, and happy method
 “ of governing freemen, which I have en-
 “ deavoured to describe. Our ministers
 “ received it from their predecessors, and
 “ for some time continued to observe it;
 “ but without knowing its value. At
 “ length, presuming on their own wisdom

“ P. 11.

“ and

“ and the quiet disposition of the Ameri-
 “ cans, they flattered themselves, that we
 “ might reap great advantages from their
 “ prosperity by destroying the cause of
 “ it. They chose in an unlucky hour
 “ to treat them as other nations have
 “ thought fit to treat their colonies ; they
 “ threatened, and they taxed them.”

How far back this writer means to
 carry his list of ministers, whose sole
 merit, according to him, hath been an
 undeviating attachment to precedents, and
 whose ignorance made them incapable of
 judging whether they acted right or
 wrong, I shall not attempt to conjecture.
 Be that, as it may. I should not have
 been much less at a loss to discover the
 commencement of that auspicious æra, in
 which, with the usual happy exertion of
 his invidious talent, he describes pre-
 sumption and tyranny combining with
 ignorance, to defeat the wisdom of former
 times, had he not at length condescended
 to express himself in plain terms. We

all know the *hour*, my —, when we taxed the colonies: and we know too, that some of the most able, the most enlightened, the most moderate, and most independent men, that ever graced the annals of this country, have concurred in the several resolutions of taxing them. But I am at a loss, and I fancy, your —, are so too, to understand, what is meant here by saying, “they THREATENED and “they taxed them.” I know of no threats, my —, that either preceded or accompanied the stamp-act. I do not know, that the Americans at that time deserved any. The writer himself, in the beginning of his pamphlet, asserts, that “^m before the stamp-act we considered “them in the light of as good subjects as “the natives of any county in England.” Let us just recollect the time and the occasion of that act.

The conquests made in America during the late war, and ceded to us at the

peace, had so greatly extended the line of our frontier, that it became necessary to keep up a considerable number of additional forces to secure it. At the close of a war, which, however glorious, had wasted our people, and nearly doubled our debt, we could but ill support the expence of men and money requisite for this new establishment. To relieve us in some degree from a burthen, to which we submitted for their service, it was thought reasonable to expect, that the Americans should contribute towards the expence we had charged ourselves with for the subsistence of those troops ; whose pay, even after that contribution, would still be a heavy drain upon the specie of this country. This, my —, is what the writer of the ‘ Speech ’ candidly calls, “ⁿ shifting our own burthens upon them ;” and, with his usual partiality to his countrymen, declares, it is a “ power, we are not “ *honest* enough to be trusted with.”

Whether the stamp-duty was or was not a proper expedient for the purpose then in view, is not worth while to consider. The terms upon which the two countries now stand are so different, that such an enquiry is become useless. Thus far however, I must say, that the minister, from whom that proposition is supposed to have originated, was as far as any man in the kingdom from intending or desiring any thing, that might in the least hurt the interest, or disturb the quiet, of any part of the British Empire; and I think it but a just tribute due to his memory to say, that, had he continued in power, I am persuaded, he would have conducted that measure to an issue, which would have procured to this country the relief he proposed, without leaving any bad impression on the minds of the colonists. He would either have established the tax without alienating the affections of the Americans, or, without committing the dignity of the mother country, would,

would, upon proper representations from them, have given it up for some more satisfactory mode of contribution. The conjuncture of the times did not permit him to have such an opportunity. The measures pursued by administrations immediately succeeding were of a different cast. They differed not only from him, but from each other, and still were unsuccessful. The disorders in America increased instead of subsiding; till at last, after having exercised the patience of government for a long time, they rose to such a height, that it became necessary for the parliament of Great Britain, however unwilling, to interfere.

A very summary account is here given of this interposition: "P Thus (says the "writer), as I apprehend, stands the case. "They petition for the repeal of an act "of parliament, which they complain of "as unjust and oppressive. And there is

P P. 18.

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" not

“ not a man amongst us, not the warmest
 “ friend of administration, who does not
 “ sincerely wish that act had never been
 “ made. In fact, they only ask for what
 “ we wish to be rid of. Under such a
 “ disposition of mind one would imagine
 “ there could be no occasion for fleets and
 “ armies to bring men to a good under-
 “ standing.” If by the ‘act of parlia-
 ment’ here mentioned, we are to under-
 stand that, which laid on the port-duties,
 and by the ‘fleets and armies’ those
 forces which are now before the town
 and harbour of Boston (and I protest,
 my —, I can understand them no other-
 wise) in what language shall I speak of
 such a direct and flagrant misrepresenta-
 tion of facts so recent, so notorious, and
 so important! Was there any petition
 before — from the people of Boston?
 Was the support of that act, he mentions,
 in any respect the object of our arma-
 ment? I do not speak of your *wishes*,
 my —; I speak of facts. I do not pre-
 tend

tend to the art of penetrating into the secrets of your bosoms, which it seems this writer is in possession of; nor do I well know, by what title he claims to inherit that portion of the Divinity: but, I own, my —, I shall give but little credit to his pretensions, unless he can give a better account of them, than he does of the disposition of the people at Boston, which is directly contrary to our own knowledge, and to their uniform declarations and conduct. During the seven years this act of parliament has subsisted (I cannot say, has been in force) every kind of insult hath been offered with impunity both to our laws, and to the persons intrusted with the execution of them: yet so averse have we been from the idea of enforcing those laws, and punishing the offenders by parliamentary authority, that during that whole time, we have declined the consideration of any complaint, and the protection or punishment of any persons, and have

left every thing to the decision of the civil government of the province.

That we have now altered our conduct towards them, is not occasioned by any opposition they have made to *that* or any other act of parliament; but by the influence with which they have trampled on a common right of mankind, and that attended with some very aggravating circumstances.

The distresses of a great company, which in its prosperity hath contributed to enrich every part of this nation, one would suppose, might have excited some compassion in their breasts; or at least might so far have pleaded with them in its behalf, as to have saved from destruction that property, which it had committed to their charge, and upon which it relied, as a sure and immediate resource in its misfortunes. Add to this, that the commodity was not rashly or inconsiderately

siderately sent thither, but for a great commerical purpose, which interested the whole empire :—It was not a necessary of life, but a luxury ; the consumption therefore depended entirely upon their own choice ; and they had an opportunity by chearfully admitting it into their ports, and giving it the usual sale in that country, not only to have cancelled all former injuries, but to plead a merit with us on account of the relief they would have afforded to the greatest trading company now existing. If, on the contrary, their prejudices against taxation from hence were so strong and so universal, as to prevail over the sense of common interests, and prevent their co-operating with us in a point of such manifest importance to both countries, they might have gratified them, both with effect, and with impunity, by remaining totally inactive. The duties might have been paid by the merchants, to whom the cargoes were consigned ; the cargoes might have been landed and deposited in their storehouses, and

and there they must have rotted : for, had it been the universal, or even the general, resolution of the inhabitants to consume no tea, for which the duty had been paid, the retailers would not have ventured to take off any part of it. Thus their purpose might have been fully answered; and the port of Boston might still have been open.

The wanton defiance of civil power and the repeated violations of private property, which were the immediate and absolute causes of shutting up their port, and altering their government, are not once so much as mentioned throughout this pamphlet : if they are even alluded to, it is only in one place, as I remember, and there under the vague and undistinguishing name of *riots*. But your — have already heard too much to be surprized at this. Men are not used to deviate so widely from truth without meaning to avail themselves of the sacrifice they have made. The causes assigned by this writer for the present

sent measures are in themselves such, that the very suggestion of them, if it were once to gain credit, might be attended with the most mischievous consequences. Yet, as if this were not sufficient, he indulges himself in the most opprobrious and inflammatory language. Our conduct, according to him, ¹ INSTEAD OF MAKING THE COLONISTS PEACEABLE, WILL MAKE THEM MAD:—² THEIR VIOLENCES ARE THE NATURAL EFFECTS OF SUCH MEASURES AS OURS ON THE MINDS OF FREEMEN:—³ THEIR DISOBEDIENCE IS THE FRUIT OF OUR OWN IMPRUDENT AND IMPERIOUS CONDUCT:—⁴ OF THE MADNESS OF OUR RULERS:—⁵ THE SPIRIT OF BLINDNESS AND INFATUATION IS GONE FORTH:—⁶ OUR ALTERATIONS ARE CAPRICIOUS:—⁷ OUR INNOVATIONS UNHEARD OF:—⁸ OUR ACTS ARBITRARY:—⁹ WITHOUT EITHER MODERATION OR END:—¹⁰ THEY MAY THINK IT BETTER TO RUN ANY HAZARD THAN SUBMIT TO THE

¹ P. 27. ² P. 23. ³ P. 22. ⁴ P. 23. ⁵ P. 24.
⁶ P. 26. ⁷ P. 27. ⁸ P. 25. ⁹ P. 26. ¹⁰ Ibid.

VIOLENCE OF THEIR MOTHER COUNTRY:
 —^b WE FORCE EVERY NORTH AMERICAN
 TO BE OUR ENEMY: —^c THE WISE AND
 MODERATE AT HOME AND THOSE IM-
 MENSE MULTITUDES WILL UNITE TO OP-
 POSE US: —^d THAT JUST GOD, WHOM WE
 HAVE ALL SO DEEPLY OFFENDED, CAN
 HARDLY INFLICT A SEVERER NATIONAL
 PUNISHMENT, THAN BY COMMITTING
 US TO THE NATURAL CONSEQUENCES OF
 OUR OWN CONDUCT: —^e WITHOUT BEING
 WEAKLY SUPERSTITIOUS, A GOOD MAN
 MAY HOPE, THAT HEAVEN WILL TAKE
 PART AGAINST THE EXECUTION OF A
 PLAN, WHICH SEEMS BIG NOT ONLY
 WITH MISCHIEF BUT IMPIETY.

But, my —, should we at length sur-
 mount all the obstacles, which the combined
 opposition of the COLONISTS, OURSELVES,
 and of HEAVEN, may throw in our way, we
 have^f still another cloud hanging over us,
 big with the future vengeance of the co-
 lonists. “^g As they increase in numbers

^b P. 23.

^c Ibid.

^d P. 24.

^e P. 34.

^f P. 28.

“ and

“ and in riches, our comparative strength
 “ must lessen. In another age, when our
 “ power has begun to lose something of
 “ its superiority, we should be happy, if
 “ we could support our authority by mu-
 “ tual good will, and the habit of com-
 “ manding; but chiefly by those original
 “ establishments, which time and public
 “ honour might have rendered inviolable.”

It cannot be, my ———, but those, who
 hold this language, must believe, we are
 insensible to injuries, and do not feel, even
 in this extremity of provocation,

How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
 To have a thankless child.

And yet, my ———, our very affection
 should have been a pledge to them of our
 resentment; or if that were not sufficient,
 they surely might give us credit at least
 for what self-preservation requires of us.

Observe only, with what consistency
 they argue. Because the colonists deny
 the

the supremacy of our legislature now that we have an undoubted superiority over them, they will assuredly acknowledge it, when that superiority shall be lost! Because we cannot now bring them to reason without force, they will then submit to us through habit! And the conclusion from all this admirable reasoning is, that we should continue to indulge a blind passion, and cherish this growing ingratitude, till it becomes too powerful for us to resist! — That pious hint of an approaching decay, of which, however inevitable, as yet, I trust, we feel no symptoms, is but too plain an indication of the filial duty and tenderness we are to expect, when we shall have loosened all the bands of restraint, and committed ourselves to the mercy of “ those FORMIDABLE NUMBERS which we have been nursing up “ for the space of 200 years, with so much “ care and success, to the astonishment of “ all Europe.”

My —, it is not the separating of themselves from this country, that I fear. We are and ever shall be too valuable a connection to be parted with; but when once they have the power in their own hands, they may choose to continue their connection, with this small difference only, of transferring the seat of empire from hence to their continent. If we would not wish to see that day, my —, we must exert ourselves, while we have ability to do so. Mere voluntary submission is a solecism in politics. The head of an empire ceases to be the head, when it ceases to be armed with power to enforce obedience to its laws. In this case there is no alternative. The colonies must either submit to us, or become our sovereigns.

To oblige the people of the Massachusetts Bay to a submission, was the first object of the late act of parliament; and the second, without which the first would

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have

have been nugatory, was to make that submission permanent. It was for this reason thought necessary to make some alterations in their government.

I have already, my —, observed upon the falsehood of that passage, which asserts, that the colonies have the form and spirit of our constitution. It was, in fact, the want of a constitution more adapted to ours, that has been the chief cause of the late disorders. No plea of prescription, no affected veneration for original establishments, are of force against our experience of the dangers arising from a subordinate government of a form so nearly republican. In a distant province, where the operations of the civil power must necessarily be weakest, it has happened, that the fewest restraints have been laid upon the people. Is it probable that such a scheme of government could ever be intended to continue? or, if it were, can we believe ourselves bound to maintain it?

But,

But, it seems, we have taken upon ourselves to alter their charter *without their consent*. I find but one argument brought to evince the heinousness of this crime we have been guilty of. It is, that “the Romans hardly ever proceeded to this extremity even over a conquered nation.” I sincerely congratulate the writer on his discovery: but as it does not apply to this point, but to the favour we have lately conferred on the province of Quebec; I leave it to his own party to determine the reward he deserves for this eminent service he has done to their cause.

It is no new idea, however, that the constitutions of rising states should undergo some alterations in the several stages of their progress; and this maxim hath frequently (long before the present disputes) been applied to our settlements in America. In their infant state, their strength was as limited as their views; they stood

in need of encouragement, not of restraints : there could be no doubt of their attachment to the mother country, while they had no prospect of subsisting but by her means; and the most ample privileges, as they could not make them independent, served only to strengthen in them the ties of gratitude and natural affection. But as they advanced towards maturity, it was foreseen, that some checks would be wanting, to preserve that subordination, without which civil government cannot subsist : new interests and dependencies would arise ; and their constitutions must be brought more and more from the popular to the mixed form ; or, which is the same thing, nearer to our own form of government.

Had we listened in proper time to these admonitions ; or, at least, if we had availed ourselves of them, when first we found the assemblies caviling with and distressing their governours, even to the withholding of those supplies, that were necessary

cessary for their own defence; we might in all probability have avoided the present difficulties. But if those, my —, who are constitutionally the guardians of the state, and whose duty it is to foresee and to provide against all possible evils, have through an ill-judged tenderness neglected to prevent one so obvious and certain; shall it be imputed to them as an act of tyranny, that they yield to the occasion, when it presses, and do upon the spur of necessity what they ought long ago to have done through mere prudence and circumspection?

Upon the whole, my —, the outrages, that have been committed at Boston, are to me not only a proof of the wild and distempered violence of the parties immediately concerned in them; they are a demonstration of what was intended to be concealed, a want of unanimity among the people there. The plain and secure method of opposition I mentioned some time ago, must infallibly have been adopt-

ed; if they could have depended upon the general resolution: but, that failing, the most concise and the surest method was, by one daring, desperate act of a few tried associates, to cut off at once all possibility of doubt, and with it, in their opinion, all possibility of accommodation.

Now, my —, from these circumstances of the transactions at Boston, the present measures acquire an additional praise and value. Our fleets and armies, instead of being the enemies, are the protectors of our colonists, and the change of their government only relieves them from the tyranny of a faction.

My —, we have likewise another advantage. Whatever blame may have been incurred by any or all of the former measures (for there are none of us, who do not blame some of them), no part of it lies on the present administration. They have no favourite system to preserve, no vanity or pride to gratify, by adhering to a particular

particular line of conduct. They took up matters, as they found them; and they have sufficiently shewn their temper by their patience. As they have no predilections, they will be free from prejudices; and as they have only taken an active part, when they could not consistently with their duty remain any longer inactive, we have the greatest reason to hope and to believe they will maintain their resolution with firmness as well as prudence. For, trust me, my —, should the same variableness now manifest itself in our councils, which hath prevailed in them formerly; should the act, that was made in the last session of the late parliament, be repealed; instead of reconciling the mal-content in America to us by such a sacrifice, we should find them more stubborn and refractory; we should find, that nothing had been done by it, but preventing the indemnification of the India Company, putting the unfortunate inhabitants of Boston again into the hands of a turbulent and disaffected party, and inflaming their opposition to the claims

claims of their mother-country, which we might then be obliged to give up with disgrace and ignominy. To spare the colonies and ourselves such a multiplicity of evils, nothing more is wanting, than to pursue with vigour the present measures : and when the Bostonians shall have made reparation for the losses the India Company has sustained, and shall have returned to a proper sense of their duty ; if they shall then choose to petition, I doubt not, they will be favourably heard.

Your — will, I hope, pardon me this digression. I return to the matter of my complaint.

After having so fully shewn, that the pamphlet in question is founded upon gross misrepresentations both of facts and circumstances, and that it is conceived in terms highly reflecting upon the conduct of his Majesty's ministers, upon the honour and dignity of p——t in general, and of this — in particular, I imagine little
more

more remains than matter of form. Falsehoods and calumnies of so flagrant a nature are but too evidently calculated to mislead the uninformed, and impose upon the unguarded part of the nation, to lessen their confidence in government, and to excite murmurings, discontents, and —, among them.

Before I conclude, however, I think it my duty to declare, that I do most sincerely acquit every — of this — of all suspicion in respect to this pamphlet.— To shrink from the duties of his rank, when matters of the highest national importance are in agitation—to withhold his opinion in the hour of debate—to wait in secret and silent expectation, till discussion is at an end—and, when the business is decided, when the decision is confirmed by a law, and that law is in the very instant of its operation,—then to interpose by an appeal to the people at large, and such an appeal as this, my —, ----- is a conduct, which it is utterly impossible any — of

this — can have been capable of: —
 it is a conduct, my —, which I even
 think of with so much reluctance, that,
 unless, contrary to all expectation and be-
 lief, some one among us should stand up to
 avow it, and oblige me to bring my charge
 home to the writer, I shall forbear to give
 it a name.

My —, I move, &c. &c.

THE END.

